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From Nemangkawi to Damai-Cartenz: The Paradigm Shift of Polri's Peacebuilding in Papua

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Abstract

This article analyzes how the Indonesian National Police (Polri) conceptualize and implement peacebuilding in the Papua conflict through the transition from Operation Nemangkawi to Operation Damai Cartenz and the subsequent design and partial implementation of Operation Rasaka Cartenz. It argues that although the discourse of humanist, non-traditional security approaches was formally adopted, particularly via the Binmas Noken community policing programs, peacebuilding largely remained at the narrative level and was not coherently translated into operational doctrine, institutional design, or evaluation parameters. Using Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, field observations, and interviews, the study shows that the absence of a Papua-specific peacebuilding roadmap, the dominance of quantitative and militaristic success indicators under Chief of Indonesian Police Regulation No. 1 of 2019 on System, Management, and Operational Success Standards (Perkap No. 1/2019), fragmented and unsustained programs, weak synergy with local stakeholders, and insufficient attention to gender and local wisdom have collectively undermined long-term efforts to build trust, well-being, and sustainable peace for Papuans. The article concludes that effective police-led peacebuilding in Papua requires reorienting legal and institutional frameworks, success indicators, and program design toward inclusive, context-sensitive, and locally grounded notions of justice, recognition, and welfare.

Keywords: Papua Conflict, Polri, Peacebuilding, Binmas Noken, Damai-Cartenz; Nemangkawi

1. Introduction

1.1. The Conundrum of the Papua Conflict

The protracted conflict between the Free Papua Organisation (OPM) and the Indonesian Government cannot be reduced to a straightforward struggle for independence, but is rooted in multiple, overlapping grievances. Several widely circulated narratives at national and international levels highlight why demands for Papuan self determination remain salient.

First, there is enduring contestation over the 1962 New York Agreement between the Netherlands and Indonesia concerning the status of West Papua (United Nations, 1962). The Agreement mandated the transfer of administration from the Netherlands to Indonesia via the United Nations Temporary Executive Authority (UNTEA), formally to safeguard human rights and facilitate the transition (United Nations, 1962: 278–282). However, the process largely excluded the voices and aspirations of Orang Asli Papua (OAP), leading many observers to characterise it as a top down arrangement that enabled the de facto annexation of West Papua without genuine Papuan consent (Sariols, 2019).

Second, sociocultural cleavages reinforce a distinct Papuan identity vis à vis the rest of Indonesia. OAP are generally identified as part of the Melanesian family, in contrast to the predominantly Austronesian populations elsewhere in Indonesia, and are mostly Christian, whereas most Indonesians are Muslim (Sariols, 2019). This ethnic and religious divergence deepens "Us vs. Them" dynamics and strengthens Papuan identification with other Melanesian societies in the Pacific (Yambeyapdi, 2022: 169).

Third, serious and persistent allegations of human rights violations further fuel grievance. Reports by the International Coalition for Papua indicate a high incidence of violations attributed to Indonesian security forces (ICP, 2020), while the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has documented alleged unlawful arrests, torture, killings, enforced disappearances, and other ill treatment (OHCHR, 2019). In UN forums, Pacific states—particularly Vanuatu—have repeatedly condemned Indonesia for patterns of violence, exploitation, and arbitrary detention in Papua (United Nations, 2019; 2020).

1.2. Nemangkawi to Damai-Cartenz

During the Jokowi administration, economic growth, social welfare, and equitable infrastructure development were prioritized, with Papua explicitly designated as a key focus area. Within this broader agenda, the police were mandated to develop a context sensitive policing model for Papua based on a soft, non military approach that emphasizes humanity, equality, and peace (Sudarto, 2023: 226).

A central innovation was the Binmas Noken program, a community based policing model that relies on amicable, culturally attuned engagement rather than repressive methods. Under this paradigm, police officers exercise discretion not only to maintain public order but also to adapt law enforcement practices to local norms and expectations. The program seeks to reduce tensions rooted in Papuan perceptions of discrimination and human rights violations by the Indonesian state, and to counter the antagonistic image of government security forces that feeds support for independence movements such as OPM.

In 2022, Operation Nemangkawi was formally terminated and replaced by Operation Damai Cartenz, which, despite its name and stated objectives, has increasingly relied on hard security measures (Achmad & Santosa, 2023). Binmas Noken now operates under the banner of Rasaka Cartenz (Operasi Samara Kasih Cartenz), reconfigured as a regional rather than centrally controlled initiative, which has raised concerns that, without strong national oversight, this soft approach operation remains marginal and structurally overshadowed by the more dominant Damai Cartenz framework.

1.3. The Problem Defined

OPM's position within Indonesia's national security discourse is difficult to pin down, as policy responses have increasingly framed the Papua conflict through a militaristic rather than human centred lens. Operation Nemangkawi, particularly through the introduction of Binmas Noken, initially reflected Polri's commitment to a soft, human centred policing model that emphasizes community engagement, protection, and service in addressing long standing conflict. Yet despite public praise for Binmas Noken's contribution to de escalation, Nemangkawi was discontinued and replaced by Operation Damai Cartenz, which, while formally retaining peacebuilding objectives, operationally leans back toward traditional security practices that contradict the earlier soft approach ethos.

This tension raises a central research question: how does the transition from Nemangkawi to Damai Cartenz signify a paradigm shift in Polri's peacebuilding doctrine toward the Papua conflict?

1.4. The Research Gap

Numerous previous studies have discussed the nomenclature of the Papua conflict, including preceding research in formulating the best policing model to combat OPM activities—let it be framed within the traditional security approach nor the contemporary human-based outlook. Nevertheless, none have examined that Polri's peace-building programs are without any specific roadmap, often sporadic, lack of synergy, and ceased once there is change in the leader's position, which make the peacebuilding process hovers in stagnancy with no clear trajectory on what to do next to achieve peace in Papua conflict with welfare as the concrete end goal, as I plan to do as the Research Gap.

1.5. The Research Purpose and Benefits

The aim of this research is particularly In the academic context, the research may contribute to flourish the discourse of policing in Indonesia, particularly scrutinising the philosophy behind Polri's peace-building outlook through the transition from Operation Nemangkawi to Damai-Cartenz. Whereas, in practical sense, this study draws a distinct line on the future and subsequent trajectory of Polri's peacebuilding; identifying its current strength, struggles and future threats as well as improvement in handling the sustained Papua conflict. In the long run, this research may implicate for agenda setting specifically aimed at creating long-term peace resolutions in handling the Papua conflict, which has not been previously studied in police science studies.

2. Conceptual Framework

2.1. Binmas Noken

Binmas Noken is a soft-approach policing implemented by Polri in Papua. "*Binmas*" stands for "*Pembinaan Masyarakat*" which translates to "Community Empowerment", while "*Noken*" refers to a traditional Papuan bag made from woven fibers. Utilisation of Noken extends to a vast array of unique applications. The head of the village may be seen wearing a small Noken as an accessory, or a Mother carrying a medium size Noken to carry her child, or replacing regular ballot boxes with Nokens during elections in Papua. Noken was officially regarded as an intangible cultural heritage by UNESCO. Noken is a significant cultural symbol in Papua, in other words: *Noken is a source of life for the people in Papua*. The use of the term "Noken" in the program's name symbolises the local cultural context and emphasizes the importance of community involvement and collaboration in maintaining law and order.

In essence, Binmas Noken was a refined concept originated from "Binmas Pioneer"—which first introduced in 1993. Principally, the essence of Binmas Pioneer pivoted in building an amicable interaction between Polri officers by means of giving example (acting as pioneer) as they were assigned to teach the skills of carpentry, fishery, plantation, farming and stockbreeding to the local community (Yamin, 2018).

However, there were numerous obstacle which hinder the effectiveness of the Binmas Pioneer, which one of them was due to lack of skill acquired by the Polri officers who were incompetent nor possess less than a rudimentary knowledge in regards of the aforementioned skills which are needed to be taught to the local people in Papua. Therefore, Binmas Pioneer was gradually eroded. The concept remained dormant until in the early 2018, Tito Karnavian, the (then) Chief of Republic of Indonesia Police officially introduced the concept of Binmas Noken.

Basically, both Binmas Pioneer and Binmas Noken comprised similar value. There are however, 2 (two) main distinction between those human-centered policing models: *firstly*, in Binmas Noken, the assigned law operatives have been deliberately trained to certain skills (i.e. have an adequate expertise in carpentry, stockbreeding, etc.). Moreover, Binmas Noken also deals in the activity relating to maintaining healthcare and fostering education, in which Binmas Pioneer rather overlooked (Sudarto, 2023).

The Binmas Noken task force was initially introduced alongside the deployment of the Operation Nemangkawi on the 5th January 2018. Differing from the traditional law-enforcing operations, Nemangkawi was popularly known for its acknowledgement to soft-approach policing which put a great respect toward human rights. National Police Chief General Tito Karnavian has ordered the establishment of the Binmas Noken Task Force.

With Binmas Noken program, the local community is expected to be self-sufficient in terms of overcoming obstacles in accessing basic necessities such as healthcare, welfare, and food security. Ultimately, the final target is initiating collaboration, strategy, and integration approach amongst stakeholders which leads to enhance communal well-being and forestall resistance against the Indonesian government through involvement in constructive undertakings alongside regional authorities, as their need of attaining a comfortable livelihood are already fulfilled (Zakaria, 2021).

2.2. Security Sector Reform

Security Sector Reform (hereinafter, referred as 'SSR') refers to a comprehensive set of policies, programs, and activities designed to improve the way a country's security apparatus operates. A key objective of SSR is to restore or build trust between the population and the security forces. To put this research into a much deeper context, I specifically describe the SSR landscape through Mietzner's approach. Mietzner views on SSR in Indonesia notably focus on how militarisation impacts the Indonesian security reform. Mietzner observes that, due to the Indonesian military (TNI) "dual function" (or "*dwifungsi*") where the military armed forces were substantially involved both in defence and civilian affairs, hence TNI exerts informal influence over politics, economics, and regional security, making the reform more superficial than substantive. Albeit the military dual function was officially abolished since the early 2000s following the fall of Soeharto administration in 1998, the military influence purportedly persists to date (Mietzner, 2011).

The inevitable TNI involvement post-authoritarian era during the 1960s-1990s leads into the incomplete nature of security sector reform caused by a lack of political will amongst the military and civilian leaders to fully reform the security sector, by which although there has been endeavour to remove military parties from formal politics and limiting its role in civilian governance, the military retained significant influence. Mietzner stresses the tension between civilian elites who are often unable, or to some extent, unwillingly to assert control over the military (Mietzner, 2009). As a ramification of such incomplete security sector reform, the military continues exercises autonomy in various spheres, including economic enterprises, politics, businesses, which were supposed to be dismantled as part of the reform (Mietzner, 2013).

Security sector reform also entails police reform. By which, the police force was eventually separated from military, as a consequence of the downfall of Soeharto regime in thre 1998s, nonetheless, this has not necessarily resulted in a more accountable or effective institution. Despite efforts keep police force reformed, it remains plagued by the ardent military influence. (Mietzner, 2006). However, establishing an effective civilian oversight over the military and police remains a challenge, taking into account that, of the weak institutional capacity of civilian bodies to control the security sector (Mietzner, 2014).

2.3. Giddens Structuration Theory

Anthony Giddens, a prominent sociologist, introduced structuration theory as a framework to understand the relationship between social structures and human agency. This theory posits that social practices are both shaped by existing structures and are the means through which structures are reproduced and transformed over time. Giddens' work challenges traditional dualisms in sociology, such as structure versus agency, by emphasising their interdependence and continuous interaction in shaping social life.

At the heart of structuration theory is the concept of the "duality of structure". Giddens argues that structures are not external constraints imposed on individuals but are constituted by the practices of those individuals. Structures encompass not only formal institutions like laws and norms but also informal rules, routines, and patterns of social

interaction. These structures provide frameworks within which individuals act, guiding their behaviors and choices (Wheeler-Brooks, 2009).

Simultaneously, individuals' actions and practices contribute to the reproduction and transformation of these structures. This ongoing process of structuration occurs through what Giddens terms "recursive practices", where individuals draw upon and modify existing structures in their everyday interactions. For example, in a workplace setting, employees' daily routines and interactions contribute to maintaining organizational norms and hierarchies while also potentially challenging or reshaping them.

Agency, in Giddens' theory, refers to the capacity of individuals to act intentionally and make meaningful choices within the constraints and opportunities provided by social structures. Unlike deterministic views that suggest individuals are merely products of their social environments, structuration theory emphasizes that agency is inherent in human action and is crucial for social change and innovation (Chatterjee, Kunwar and Hond, 2019: 61-62).

2.4. Social Identity Theory: The Dynamics of 'Us vs. Them'

Social Identity Theory (SIT) offers a comprehensive framework for understanding how individuals perceive themselves and others within social groups. This essay provides an in-depth analysis of SIT, exploring its key concepts, empirical evidence, and implications for intergroup relations. At the core of SIT is the concept of social categorization, whereby individuals classify themselves and others into social groups based on salient characteristics such as race, ethnicity, gender, or nationality (Tajfel and Tuner, 1979).

SIT delineates several social identity processes that influence intergroup attitudes and behaviors. Ingroup differentiation entails accentuating the differences between ingroups and outgroups to reinforce group boundaries and cohesion. It provides insights into the dynamics of intergroup conflict and cooperation. Intergroup conflict arises from perceived threats to ingroup identity, competition for scarce resources, or historical grievances between groups. In contrast, intergroup cooperation can be fostered through superordinate goals that necessitate intergroup collaboration, intergroup contact that promotes positive intergroup attitudes and empathy, and intergroup dialogue aimed at reducing stereotypes and enhancing mutual understanding (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006).

Social Identity Theory offers a powerful lens through which to understand the complexities of "Us vs. Them" dynamics in social groups and societies. By elucidating the psychological mechanisms underlying ingroup favoritism, outgroup prejudice, and intergroup conflict, SIT provides valuable insights into human behavior and intergroup relations. As societies grapple with increasing diversity, inequality, and polarization, the principles of SIT offer guidance for promoting social harmony, cooperation, and collective well-being (Tajfel and Tuner, 1979; Ellemers, Spears and Doosje, 2002).

2.5. Well-being

Well-being in this context means living happily and leading a satisfying life (Sangha et al., 2015: 198). For indigenous peoples, it goes beyond physical health to embrace harmony with nature, spiritual ties to ancestral lands, and the natural cycles that sustain life (Sangha et al., 2015: 200).

These perspectives view humans as part of an ecological and spiritual web, prioritising collective well-being and interdependence among people, animals, plants, and the environment. Natural rhythms—seasons, celestial events, and ecological cycles—guide livelihood activities and ceremonies, sustaining both material needs and cultural-spiritual continuity.

Supporting indigenous well-being therefore requires respecting sovereignty over ancestral territories, aligning development with indigenous values, revitalising cultural practices, and ensuring meaningful participation in decision-making. By honouring ancestral knowledge and ecological rhythms, indigenous communities offer

holistic models of well-being that promote sustainability, resilience, and a more just, environmentally sound future for all (Sangha et al., 2015: 203–204).

2.6. Peacebuilding

The theory of peacebuilding was inspired by Johan Galtung's (1969) idea, which aims to create sustainable peace by addressing the root causes of conflict, rather than merely stopping violence temporarily (Erçoşkun, 2021: 3). Galtung views peace as something more complex than the mere absence of war. Galtung distinguishes two main types of peace: the first is negative peace, which refers to the absence of direct violence or war, but without addressing the root causes of conflict. The second is positive peace, which is the creation of a social, political, and economic ecosystem that is fair and prevents violence from reoccurring.

Galtung's peacebuilding theory focuses on creating positive peace through several approaches, namely: 1) conflict prevention, which involves identifying and addressing potential causes of conflict before they develop into violence. This can be achieved through dialogue between ethnic groups to prevent disputes; 2) conflict transformation, which involves changing the perspectives and relationships between conflicting parties by building mutual understanding and reconciliation. An example of this is mediation between warring communities; 3) Post-conflict reconstruction, which involves efforts to help communities recover after conflict, including rebuilding infrastructure, social institutions, and intergroup relations. (Erçoşkun, 2021: 7). Johan Galtung's theory of peacebuilding offers a comprehensive framework for understanding and resolving conflicts. It focuses on positive peace and a transformative approach, whereby true peace means not only the absence of violence, but also the creation of social justice, reconciliation, and harmonious relationships.

3. Research Methods

This research is framed by a qualitative research design. It is a type of research that explores and unearths understanding or opinions of a social phenomenon within their natural setting (Wahyuni, 2023: 34-36). Such qualitative approach will assist in acquiring an in-depth insight on how Polri respectively perceives the Papua conflict; to examine the philosophical ground to which why the Operation Nemangkawi famous for its applauded Binmas Noken to the Damai-Cartenz as the hallmark of its shift of policing approach—which once was stressed on a rather more humanist approach by maintaining Binmas Noken to now angling to the more 'traditional' law enforcement measures.

This research uses a case study outlook. There are 2 (two) underpinning reasons in which why I choose case study: *firstly*, a case study in qualitative research helps when it comes to the problem research related to exploring questions of "why" and "how" (Yin, 2018: 173), this function is in parallel with my research, as I intent to overarchingly look into any paradigm shift on Polri's peace building definition within the interplay of the militarisation phenomena and its further implication to Binmas Noken. *Secondly*, a case study provides a clear definitive research result because it only examines a specific scope of analysis by focusing on one specified event, at certain time period and circumstance. In the context of this research, examining the perception of paradigm shift on Polri's peace building will create foreseeable difficulties since the analysis spectrum will be too wide. Therefore, to attain a vivid evident to the research, I specifically limit the case study scope particularly in the transition from Operation Nemangkawi to Damai-Cartenz.

3.1. Data Collection

This research uses three data collection techniques. It first analyzes key documents, including the Nemangkawi Phase I–II and Damai Cartenz 2023–2025 peace operation plans and the Chief of Police Regulation No. 1/2019 on operational success standards. It then conducts indirect observation through secondary and third party reports on the 2022 transition from Nemangkawi to Damai Cartenz, and finally carries out semi structured in depth interviews in Papua and Jakarta with: Binmas Noken formulators, Nemangkawi and Damai Cartenz planners, Binmas Noken task force members, Damai Cartenz managers and operators, and community leaders and members (OAP and non OAP) who experienced Binmas Noken.

Because of the sensitivity of peace operations, many potential informants are reluctant to share information, so conventional sampling is ineffective. The study therefore uses snowball sampling (chain referral), a qualitative, non random technique suited to hard to reach populations, where initial informants recommend others based on their roles and knowledge (Biernacki and Waldorf, 1981; Wahyuni, 2023: 87). For instance, access to operational level actors in Nemangkawi and Damai Cartenz was obtained through the Head of the Binmas Noken Task Force, who then referred additional relevant informants. Snowball sampling is thus considered the most efficient and effective method to obtain rich, context specific insights into peacebuilding efforts in Papua.

3.2. Data Analysis

Data analysis in this study is inseparable from data collection and proceeds through three main stages to build a meaningful picture of the phenomenon. First, data reduction filters and simplifies large, diverse, and complex raw data from interviews, document studies, and indirect observations by selecting only information relevant to the research focus and discarding what does not serve the research objectives. Second, data presentation organizes the reduced data into structured forms such as descriptive narratives and matrices, helping the researcher logically display emerging themes and patterns and summarize documents and interview transcripts so they are easier to understand. Third, data verification ensures the accuracy and validity of the findings by re examining and cross checking the data to find coherence, significance, and relevance across sources. At this stage, the researcher interprets what the data collectively mean for understanding the Indonesian National Police's peacebuilding efforts in the Papua conflict through the Binmas Noken program during Operation Nemangkawi and Operation Damai Cartenz.

3.3. Ehical Considerations

The study adhered to established ethical principles of social research, including informed consent and respect for local cultural values. All participants received clear explanations regarding research objectives, their right to withdraw at any stage, and the academic use of collected data.

4. Results

This section presents the core empirical findings on the dynamics of Polri's peacebuilding process for the Papua conflict through Operation Nemangkawi and Damai-Cartenz, in which identified by three key themes: (1) The role of Binmas Noken as a mean of peacebuilding in Operation Nemangkawi, (2) The paradigm shift happened during Operation Damai-Cartenz, (3) The current situation of Binmas Noken.

4.1. Binmas Noken: How Peacebuilding Is Achieved in Operation Nemangkawi

The Binmas Noken Task Force was created by National Police Chief General Tito Karnavian to optimise police programmes in tackling social problems and to initiate peacebuilding in conflict areas (Fahmi, 2018). Nemangkawi combined law enforcement with Binmas Noken to build trust and improve livelihoods, education, and health in conflict zones. The programme is operationalised through local wisdom–based components: Kasuari promotes welfare through support for farming, livestock, carpentry, fisheries, and health; Koteka builds emotional bonds between police and customary leaders; Polisi Pi Ajar involves police teaching children through playful, creative methods; Peka encourages community concern for security and environment; Matoa mobilises millennials; Papeda nurtures young scholars via intellectual forums; and Tifa highlights culture and indigenous knowledge as resources for resolving problems (Sudarto and Samah, 2022: 16-31).

In practice, Binmas Noken has reportedly improved welfare and income for local farmers in areas such as Timika and Nabire (Syah, 2018). The task force in Jayawijaya successfully ran Polisi Pi Ajar, enabling children in Kampung Parema to access proper educational materials, while Yahukimo District achieved more stable food security with Binmas Noken's support through the provision of seeds and tools (Firmansyah, 2022). These efforts coincided with an increase in Papua's Human Development Index in 2021, for which Binmas Noken received public praise (Jurnal Madani, 2022).

Overall, the implementation of Binmas Noken within Operation Nemangkawi is portrayed as a landmark soft approach policing model that nurtures a peace dynamic between police and local communities (Sudarto, 2022). Like a "Noken" that carries many items together, the programme symbolically represents Polri's willingness to hold and address community complaints and problems amicably and collectively. This is done while respecting sacred Papuan customs and embedding peacebuilding within everyday social, economic, educational, and cultural interactions (Sudarto, 2022).

4.2. Damai-Cartenz 2022 to Damai-Cartenz 2023: A Paradigm Shift

The findings unfold Polri's peacebuilding through two phases of transition from Operation Nemangkawi to Operation Damai Cartenz. In the first phase (January–December 2022), the police embraced a more humanist approach: the very name "Damai Cartenz" was chosen to stress peaceful intent, Binmas Noken's area expanded from 9 to 23 regions, and it became one of three main task forces alongside intelligence and preventive units. Interestingly, Operation Damai-Cartenz 2022 originally aims the expansion of community development function (Binmas) to a greater extend that what it has achieved during Nemangkawi by prioritising Binmas Noken, Intelligence, and preventive efforts.

In the second phase (from January 2023), the paradigm shifted back toward conventional law enforcement: Binmas was replaced by a regional law enforcement task force, the operational focus narrowed to 9 Papuan highland districts. Damai Cartenz was recentralized because the regional command model was judged ineffective: strategy, force composition, logistics, and parameters still followed Nemangkawi's security logic, leading to vulnerable small posts, more firefights with armed groups (KKB), and casualties used as failure indicators by central leaders. Binmas Noken was then considered too costly and inefficient in 2023, and when Damai Cartenz became a centrally controlled operation in January 2023, Binmas Noken was removed so the operation focused almost solely on law enforcement (KPANRB, 2024).

4.3. The Current Situation of Binmas Noken

To preserve the Binmas Noken, Polri planned a separate regional operation, programs were moved on paper into the regional Rasaka Cartenz operation, whose content essentially continued and expanded Binmas Noken with additional programs and wider coverage, but implementation fell far short of the ambitious design. Initially conceptualized for 10 programs in 24 districts with large central funding, Rasaka Cartenz only materialized concretely in 2025, running 3 programs (Koteka, Keladi Sagu, Si Ipar) in 8 districts with much smaller provincial funding, constrained by limited local resources and the priority given in 2023–2024 to national election security operations.

5. Discussion

The Papua conflict is rooted in ideology, economic inequality, sociocultural alienation, racism, and a long history of serious human rights abuses, which have created collective grievance and a sense of "us vs them" between Papuans and the Indonesian state. This legacy, including military operations, killings, torture, and "memoria pasionis", produces deep trauma toward uniformed forces that is even transmitted through songs and stories across generations. Informants emphasize that what Papuans need is recognition of past violence and an apology, not more traditional security oriented repression.

Using Anthony Giddens's structuration theory, the article shows how peace operations are shaped and constrained by three structural dimensions: legitimacy (rules and legal frameworks), communication (how success is interpreted), and power (allocation of resources and authority). At the level of legitimacy, there is no specific peacebuilding roadmap for Papua, so Nemangkawi, Damai Cartenz, and Rasaka Cartenz are poorly synchronized, inconsistent in targets, documentation, and task design, and often misaligned with available budgets and infrastructure. At the communication level, Chief of Indonesian Police Regulation No. 1 of 2019 on System, Management, and Operational Success Standards. (Perkap No. 1/2019) imposes universal, quantitative operational

success indicators (weapons seized, posts hit, targets achieved) that do not fit the qualitative aims of gaining Papuan trust and welfare; as a result, even meaningful but intangible gains are invisible in evaluation.

At the power level, the article notes policy inconsistency tied to leadership changes, fragmented programs that run in silos, and lack of synergy even within Polri itself (for example, parallel literacy programs Si Ipar and GABUS operating without coordination). External collaboration is also weak: local governments and other stakeholders seldom actively support or sustain Binmas Noken initiatives, which hampers long term continuity and scale. On the ground, Binmas Noken faces resistance from local elites and communities, publication is poor, beneficiaries fear giving testimonials, and local mindsets and economic schemes (like village fund cash distributions) sometimes undermine sustainability of projects such as pig farming. Additionally, existing initiatives insufficiently address the specific needs of women and children, who are often the most vulnerable in conflict settings. Health and welfare programs rarely differentiate by gendered needs (maternal health, menstrual hygiene, protection from gender based violence), and broader planning does not clearly integrate a gender lens into peacebuilding.

Contradicting with what the police has claimed as a success, Binmas Noken and related programs for often becoming ceremonial showcases—distribution of goods, photo opportunities, events that highlight police image— rather than deeply rooted, sustained peacebuilding efforts with clear model villages and long term outcomes. It argues that the "Noken" label reflects local culture only semantically; the programs have yet to fully incorporate Papuan local wisdom, such as the conflict resolution ethos embodied in the bakar batu ritual, where dialogue seeks understanding rather than winners and losers. The author suggests that genuine peacebuilding should adopt Papuan formats of dialogue, acknowledge historical suffering, and be treated as a long term commitment, not just a police program cycle.

6. Conclusion

Overall, it concludes that Polri's peacebuilding efforts in Papua remain mostly at the narrative level and fail at philosophical, planning, and operational depth. Key obstacles include: failure of elites to grasp the multilevel nature of the conflict and its roots in historical injustice, discrimination, and human rights abuses; the absence of a specific Papua peacebuilding roadmap; fragmented and unsynchronised operations; universal performance indicators (Chief of Indonesian Police Regulation No. 1 of 2019 on System, Management, and Operational Success Standards / Perkap No. 1/2019) that prioritize militaristic, quantitative success over qualitative gains like trust; a tendency to highlight ceremonial achievements; lack of inclusive focus on women and children; and weak engagement with local stakeholders and Papuan local wisdom where "Noken" functions more as a symbolic label than a lived, culturally grounded practice.

In addition, this study is constrained by its strong reliance on internal Polri documents—Nemangkawi, Damai-Cartenz, and Rasaka-Cartenz Operational Plans, as well as Chief of Indonesian Police Regulation No. 1 of 2019 on System, Management, and Operational Success Standards / Perkap No. 1/2019—which primarily reflect official institutional perspectives and success claims. This document driven, top down approach privileges headquarters' planning and doctrinal narratives, while offering limited systematic engagement with community experiences, street level practices, and intra organizational contestation. Future research should therefore prioritise multi sited, community centred designs that incorporate the voices of *Orang Asli Papua*, local leaders, women and youth, as well as rank and file security personnel, ideally through ethnographic and participatory methods. Comparative studies—drawing on other Indonesian and international cases of police led peacebuilding—are also recommended to clarify the conditions under which community based programs such as Binmas Noken can evolve from symbolic "soft approaches" into durable, rights respecting components of conflict transformation.

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